THE LIBERATOR

"COMRADES LET US ALL UNITE."

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LABOR'S LONG STRUGGLE WITH CAPITAL

No. 4.

Formation of Separate Mechanical Trades.

Our last paper dealt with the craft-guild system. We find as the guild began to disintregate the mechanical trades commenced to rise.

Under the Emperor Charlemange, who ruled over the most of what is now modern Europe, made a special effort to spread abroad through his realms a knowledge of the mechanical arts and passed a law that on all royal estates there should be collected a sufficient number of skilled artisans to perform all labor necessary about the great estates.

These mechanics usually lived about the household of their master and received from him what they needed for their living in return for their services. Some of the mechanics, those who performed service for the villages on the estates, lived in a somewhat freer position. In many cases they were allowed to cultivate a lot of land on their own account and were bound only to perform certain services to the lord at certain times. This privilege was at first a mere grant of the lord, but in the course of time it came to be considered a right of the servant, and the holding of the lot of land and the following of the trade became a hereditary right, and thus certain trades became the privilege of certain families. In the course of time, owing to many causes, the absolute right of the lord over his tenants was very much modified and those who had been slaves became more and more assimilated with the freemen.

There were also mechanics in a few communities who combined the following of a trade with the pursuit of farming. There were three classes of mechanics, viz., the free mechanics in the free communities, the mechanics in the household of the lord and the serf mechanics on the estates of the lords. From these three classes sprang the modern. And from these mechanics developed the medevial cities. Owing to the circumstances of the times it was easy for any band of men to combine and entrench themselves in some stronghold and thus establish an independent city, provided they could hold their own against the strong barons and knights who were eternally quarreling among themselves. It was from these cities that the artisans organized themselves into the famous unions of the middle ages, which are known as the guilds. From these guilds slowly developed our modern trades unions.

The earliest references which we can find in regard to these unions do not state that they occupied themselves from the first with the regulations of the industrial interests of their members only, but they had originally united all members, masters, journeymen and apprentices together for commoy religious, social and beneficial purposes. They took care of all equally, whether masters or journeymen. But it became a custom about the 15th century for the journeymen to wander about from city to city for a term of years, thus the journeymen began to separate themselves from their masters as the latter began to become wealthy and ease-loving and stationary, amassing wealth and growing aristocratic. It became necessary, therefore, that there should be some kind of an organization to take care of the poor homeless wanderers and afford them food, shelter and protection. Thus the journeymen's unions began to organize from necessity. But the separation of the masters and journeymen into separate organizations could not long exist without friction. So long as the journeymen had good prospect of becoming masters, they bore the abuses of the master class, but as soon as journeymanship became a life-calling it became intolerable for the master class to try to keep wages down and to try to cheat him out of the wages he had agreed to pay him. But these unions met with so much opposition from the master class, that the journeymen concealed them under the guise of religion, social and beneficial purposes, in order to conceal their real object, which was for the purpose of bettering their economic condition.

Toward the close of the 14th century, we find repeated complaints on the part of the masters that journeymen under pretense of religious and social organizations, banded themselves together for the purpose of forcing up wages and attempts by the masters to repress these unions, even though made by several guilds of different cities together, had not been at all successful.

There arose a class of masters and a class of laborers, and with them the labor question. The question then arose how shall the wants of the laboring class be best satisfied? The journeymen formed their unions for the protection of their interests by the side of masters' guilds; and the demands which they made for the betterment of their condition and the furtherance of their interests, led at an early period to quarrels which have a close resemblance to the labor difficulties of the present time.

Industrial organization seems to have existed in a more perfect form in Germany at an earlier period than any other country.

In looking back through the centuries we see many changes taking place in the course of the development of mechanical labor. At the time when we first learn of mechanic's trades among the Germanic races, they are carried on almost exclusively by serfs on the estates of the feudal lords; then there are the class of free mechanics wherein the distinction between master and journeyman is hardly observable; then the masters obtaining the upper hand of the unions and having repressive laws passed, etc., so labor's struggle with capital has been a long one.

L. E. P.

UNDER THE WHEEL.

The wheel of fate hath a measureless round—
A measureless round, and it turneth slow;
And few on the topmost curve are found
Who care for the lives crushed out below.

But silent and stiff its circuit keeps;
And still the shadow beneath it sleeps
For, sooner or later, all it sweeps
Under the Wheel.

There are some in the mire of want who fell
As the great wheel slackened their straining hold;
Yet kept their souls as the legends tell
The spotless martyrs kept theirs of old.

And some in the furnace, of greed are lost;
(Nor ever the angel beside them feel.)
Under the Wheel.

And out of the darkness where some are tossed
The laughter is sleeted on childhood's lips,
And hollowed the cheek of beauty's bloom;
Still on remorseless, the great cylinder—
A Juggernaut car of implacable doom—
Sweet age is robbed of its saintly peace
(Oh, saddest woes that the heart can feel!)
To pain and struggle is no surcease,
Under the Wheel.

O, terrible wheel! must thou still go round,
While suns and while stars their orbits keep?
Hast thou place, like theirs, in the fathomless bound
Of nature's mystery dread and deep?
Nay! Man's injustice, not God's decree,
Marked thy fell pathway; the skies reveal
A day that cometh, when none shall be
Under the Wheel.

—Selected.

MEMORIAL ADDRESS

At a Meeting to Commemorate the Chicago Martyrs, held at Liberty Hall, Nov. 12th, 1905.

Tonight is the 12th of November. I am sure that no liberty-loving person has yet forgotten the 11th of November, 1886. Nineteen years ago the autocracy of this country murdered in Chicago five of the noblest men, and best friends of the working people! Parsons, Spies, Engel, Fisher and Lingg gave their lives for their principles, and I tell you that their silence speaks very loud!

The capitalists thought that when they did away with the best leaders then they would be able to go on their own way, and everything would be quiet and sweet. But did they succeed?

The great strikes, the wars, and other troubles speak against it, and it is getting worse and worse!

And while we have not forgotten our comrades in Chicago, we must also remember our comrades in Russia. I will not go into details about it, as I don't want to disturb your good feelings which you have now after such an amusing entertainment, and besides I could not describe even in volumes of books the horrors which are existing in Russia under the rulership of Czarism. I am sure that the people there are not a bit worse off in the present state of affairs under the rulership of the mob than at any other time (so-called peace.) There is never any other way but mob rule, and the people's blood is always running there in rivers. The only difference is that under the present conditions there is much hope in many noble hearts to get rid of Czarism and its mob rule forever.

Therefore do I think that the Russian revolutionists deserve the sympathy, and all the moral and material help of every liberty-loving person.

Liberty is the only thing that is worth fighting for, and even to give our lives if necessary! It is much more noble to die like a freeman than to live like a slave!

This is why this cause is international. The workers who are struggling in Russia are brothers to the workers everywhere. That is why we shall all send to them our best wishes, and pledge ourselves not only to raise our voices in their behalf but to do everything in our power to assist them. All liberal minded people are forming societies and groups to help the Russian revolutionists and to condemn Czarism!

And will the people of this country whose forefathers died for the same principles not try to help them?

The way things are going on in this country we may need in return their help pretty soon.

There is a proverb in Russia, "Hang one thief, and the others get scared," but I don't believe in hanging the thieves. I believe in abolishing the conditions which produce them, and this is what the Russian revolutionists are trying to do. And I wish them good success, the sooner the better!

I wish I was able to describe the self sacrificing character of the Russian revolutionists. I'll try to illustrate a few facts of their methods of propoganda among the peasants. The most educated and refined young men and young women are scattered all over in the villages in disguise, but the refined and intelligent faces of the young women are too suspicious to be taken as peasants, so they use all kinds of poisonous acids to make themselves look rough and older.

Now, I ask, how many of the women in this country would like to sacrifice their complexion, and to make themselves look older? I sincerely think that this is a terrible sacrifice! I could point out many such facts, but I don't want to occupy too much time, so I'll rather not go any farther. I only wanted to show you what a noble character the Russian revolutionist is.

As the capitalists are trying all they can to misrepresent the radicals in this country, so are they trying to misrepresent the Russian revolutionists.

But the people are commencing to see who are their friends and who are their enemies.

Anna Marcus.

Home Colony, Lakebay, Wash.

WHAT HAVE THESE TO BE "THANKFUL" FOR?

Some Women Workers.

Rev. Herbert S. Johnston, a Baptist minister in Boston, has created considerable talk by making personal investigations of the conditions under which women workers toil, and in a recent sermon the preacher drew a vivid picture of the hardships and privations suffered by girls who receive $7 to $8 a week or less. It is a common thing, he said, for them to exist on one 20-cent meal a day. They pay between $5 and $7 for a new gown, and get a new gown about once in three years on an average. A number of these girls had told the speaker that, when out of work, they had gone starving for two or three days. Life for these girls degenerates into the dull machine-like routine of the treadmill. "For some of them," said Mr. Johnson, the end is the almshouse. That is at the best. At the most, this question becomes a tragedy—a moral tragedy. I am sorry to say." Some employers had told the speaker they only employed girls at low wages, who receive *help from home (home?) in addition to their salaries. The smaller stores say that they cannot afford to pay higher wages because of the competition of the small concerns that keep open all hours. And there you are.

Will some good, kind Christian patriot arise after he has eaten his fat turkey and washed it down with good, "oiley" wine and thanked God for the great prosperity of this "glorious" country, kindly inform us what these girls have to be "thankful" for?

These are the future mothers of the race, remember.

L. E. P.

We exercise great care in the education of the young of both sexes, for the different vocations, in order to obtain the sustenance of life and for the accumulation of wealth. But we sadly neglect to instruct them on humanology, the most vital of all subjects. The rise or fall of a nation depends upon the chastity of its people. The greatest progress in science, the grandest conquests in war are ascribed to the most chaste nations. The question now arises, "How shall we educate the children to understand the sacredness of the sexual relations?" Teach it the same as biology zoology or any kindred subject. It is not necessary to tell a child the whole truth and nothing but the truth, but let all you tell him be true. A child will be satisfied with words he does not understand.—E. N. Ritter, M. D., in Purity Journal.

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT.

The Liberator Group will begin a series of open meetings, of lectures and free discussions on Sunday, December 10th, at 275 Maxwell St., corner of Ralsted St., 2:30 p. m. All are cordially invited to attend.

POPULATION QUESTION

What? That is an exploded fallacy! The product of a bourgeois brain to withdraw the attention of the producers from the real facts of exploitation. Well, let us see that it is such a case. Before examining the case I wish to state that I have just paid $5.00 for a medical examination as to my sanity and if anyone disputes the sanity of my person, well—they are up against the constituted authority.

What is meant by the "law of population"? It it this: Organic life tends to breed faster than the means of subsistence, i. e., space and food supplies. This does not mean that population always increases faster than food supplies; obviously this cannot happen, and the persons who take pains to show as such, exhibit little comprehension. "Tends to increase"? I mean by that extra children get born but in the nature of the position the extra number cannot grow up to maturity or later age. Where too many are born, so the many more must perish which implies needless misery to those in the production. Net population cannot increase beyond the means of subsistence be the space or food supplies good or bad, abundant or scanty, but in the gross it is always going beyond. Our census returns show only the net increase. The gross increase can only be got at by counting the excess of births every year over deaths. That is the skeleton record of life and happiness. To show, as most opponents of this law, and as Kropatkin does in his "Fields, Factories and Workshops" that "wealth" increases faster than population, is simply out of the issue.

"Wealth" includes all sorts of increase in mere money values; if a total rental value of a country rises, the selling values of antiques and curios rise, that proves nothing, as to sustain life it is necessary to have space and food. I have not in my whole investigation of the opponents to the law of population seen any evidence that food supplies does increase faster than that of the normal rate of population; if so it is only in the sense of that unnecessary forms of food are increased in greater proportions than the necessary.

Many think that necessary food supplies could be raised for all that are born to sustain them in normal life and that plenty of work could be found to employ them to good purpose, therefore they think that this nullifies the law of pollution. Just the reverse it strengthens it. As regards the word could, it is quite possible when the land monopoly, banking monopoly, etc., etc., is eradicated from human society and intelligence is used in relation to person and person. But that is the future, which is not now! which is the reverse of the case.

It is sometimes argued that a person with a smaller family would cause wages for labor to fall on account of smaller needs, but this is a fallacy which my esteemed comrade, B. R. Tucker, falls into. Wages are of value to the amount of purchasing power. A bachelor gets the same wage as a person of a family of ten providing they both do the same amount of work in quantity and quality.

What drives down wages is the overabundance of labor in proportion to the demand for it. The lessening of workers' families would not lessen the total demand for labor.

It may lessen the demand for cheap children's clothing, but it would permit of a greater increased demand for better things. When the supply of apprentices and working children falls off by reason of there being fewer poor persons' children born, wages per head would rise; and as the purchasing power per head would increase, the whole producing masses would benefit by it.

I do not claim that this change alone would solve the whole of the industrial problem.

There are some who do not deny the law of population and the evils that result from over-population, but argue that the present occurring evils are less than which might come from family prudence pushed too far, and point as a case France, etc. A nation is powerful not in proportion to the size of its army, navy, police, colonies, etc., but in proportion that the infantile and the prime of life stages in the death rate are decreasing.

A few words as to the apologetic of simple modesty:

1. If restrictions of families through voluntary aid be unnatural because it is a divergence from animal instinct, then clothing, cooking, chastity, monogamy is unnatural.

If "nature" is to be allowed in one point, why not in all? It is time that intelligent persons recognized that all civilization is just a modification and "controlling" of nature.

2. If to a thinking person it is "indecent" in giving or acting on the knowledge necessary for rational living and association in the sex relations, then it is indecent in teaching physiology to students, a doctor attending women in childbirth or disease, a nurse attending male patients. Such pleas are really a want of mental health set up by a morbid religion that makes people recoil from handling such a grave question.

After all, whichever way we take, we do not contradict the law, but the road of prudence gives the maximum of benefits and the minimum pain.

Max Moscow.

RUSSIAN PEASANTS WHO GOVERN THEMSELVES.

Mrs. Katherine Breshkovsky during her recent visit to America mentioned one curious exception to the greater per cent of illiteracy among the women.

There are two districts of Russia, Viatka and Perm, where there are no nobles, and where the peasants have always managed their own affairs. And these two "peasant provinces" have the best roads, the best schools, the best-paid teachers, and the largest number of public libraries, of any provinces in the empire—a fact that speaks well for the Russian peasants' capacity for self-government.

Moreover, when Mrs. Breshkovsky traveled through Viatka, she found in every town an academy for the higher education of girls. The people would have been glad to maintain academies also for the higher education of the young men, but the government would not allow it. Hence in this particular province educated women preponderate.—The Woman's Journal.

"Socialism would destroy the home!" howl the hypocritical apologists for capitalism. Yet Raymond Robbins says there are 60,000 homeless men in Chicago, and on top of this startling statement comes an announcement from Mayor Dunne himself that there are 10,000 fallen women in Chicago. Let the flannel mouths continue to holler about "destroying homes!" and when they get through ask them whether capitalism or socialism is responsible for the homeless millions at present. "Go now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you" for robbing widows and orphans.—Ex.

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The Editor does not necessarily indorse all views expressed by contributors but as THE LIBERATOR is a free Forum we invite and welcome contributions upon all subjects pertaining to liberalism.

Personalities will be rigidly excluded; we are working for the good of humanity at large.

LET US BE THANKFUL!

May Anarchists find a few things to be thankful for? Let us see: May we not be thankful that by some good strokes of fortune the veil of hypocricy, deceit and thievery have been torn with ruthless hands from before some of our "most respectable" citizens, both in church and politics?

Let us be thankful then, that the rotten gauze can be seen through by all who care to take the trouble to look. Thanks, that the men and women who, have been saving, pinching and denying themselves many comforts and necessities of life, that they might keep their policies paid up, so that when "their summons" came they would not leave those dependent upon them destitute, can now behold how their hard earnings have been squandered by a luxurating set of idle rich loafers. Let us be thankful that some of the "highest dignitaries" in the church have been exposed, and that the church contains grafters of the most virulent type is made manifest, in fact all the grafters are pillars of some of the numerous churches. The following picture of one of our "respectalbes" is reflected in the whole "bunch," only changing name and place:

DOUGHERTY'S PLEA OF GUILTY.

"A few weeks ago Newton C. Dougherty was the foremost citizen of Peoria Ill., honored by his townsmen, a friend of leading educators and churchmen and respected and admired for his unimpeachable integrity. Yesterday Dougherty went into court, pleaded guilty to grave crimes apd was sentenced to the penetentiary."

This Dougherty has stolen nearly a million dollars; his sentence was intermediate, viz., from one to 14 years. Certainly Dougherty used better judgment than most of his kind; he didn't squander the result of his stealings on shrewd lawyers, but he just made a clean breast of the whole business; he will remain in prison for a few years and then come out and spend his million. In the meantime his family will have plenty to spend also.

Let us be thankful that the capitalistic class are becoming so exacting and grinding toward their wage slaves that the latter will be driven by stern necessity into the general strike and thereby bring about more immediate and lasting relief than ten years of the old dilly dallying strikes of craft unions.

Let us be thankful that an ever increasing number of people are losing their faith in the "All-wise," "all-powerful" God who is reputed to reign somewhere, everywhere and is at all times so watchful that he counts the sparrows fall, yet can sit unmoved when such atrocities are perpetrated upon his "chosen people" by the agents of the most damnable government on the face of the earth, as the following:

"The servants of that government in patriotic obedience to its commands have lately killed and wounded 50,000 Jews by unusual and unpleasant methods—butchering men and women with knife and bayonet, flinging them out of windows, saturating them with kerosene and setting it on fire, shutting them up in cellars and smothering them with smoke, drenching the children with boiling water, and tearing other children asunder by methods of the middle ages."

Let us be thankful that the people are losing faith in the very existence of such a monster!

But above all, let us be thankful that there is a revolutionary spirit abroad in the world, that it is questioning the most hoary institutions, the most "holy" and "sacred" abodes, shaking thrones and causing the church to tremble, but, doubly and trebly thankful should all lovers of liberty be, and Anarchists in particular, when they see those stalwart Russian sailors and soldiers, who are at this moment demonstrating that the strongest, most despotic government can be reduced to the weakest, if only the soldier will refuse to be a murderer of his fellow-human being at its bidding.

Let us trust, that ere many more "Thanksgiving" days have rolled around, that the scarlet banner of Liberty, Fraternity and Equality shall be unfurled in all lands and under its benificient folds, typifying as it does the common blood that courses through the veins of the whole human race that all mankind are brothers, not enemies, then peace, sweet peace will reign on all the earth and we can have one universal Thanksgiving Day!

L. E. P.

TRADE.

Does God, grown old, in fatal slumber rest
That Christian Trade may find its pathway thrown
Where maidens fade ere childhood's years are flown,
And early plucked from out the parent nest
Are forced to drag their wearied limbs in quest
Of gain, in marts where pity is unknown,
And ever see, in gaudy plumage shown
Relief where Death is dressed her loveliest?
Poor fledgelings! Want is step-mother to their souls
Once kept by tenderness in rapture warm,
And chilling frosts have come ere spring is sped
To rob the nest, yet Christian art extols
In sculpture temples o'er the outcast form
His name who knew not where to lay his head!

—Lum.

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

The Liberator Group meets next Tuesday, Dec. 5th, in new hall, corner of Maxwell and Halsted Sts. Comrades, please attend. Entrance 275 Maxwell St.

The Liberator Group of New York meets every first and third Sunday of the month at 415 Grand St., first floor, at 8 p. m. sharp.

Those interested in the English propaganda are earnestly requested to come to our meetings.

Cigarmakers' Local Union No. 158 I. W. W. will meet every Friday night, corner Maxwell and Jefferson Sts. Discussion. All are invited.

The Progressive Literary Circle meets Thursday evenings at 379 S. Halsted St.

To Whom It May Concern:—

A younger brother of mine, Harry by name, left for Colorado Springs about six months ago, and not hearing anything from him from that time, I beg all those who know anything about him, to inform me of his condition and give me his address.

Emanuel Loebel.
348 S. Morgan St., Chicago.
Or to Liberator.

SPECIAL.

The $30 acknowledged in No. 11 of The Liberator was proceeds from the 11th of November meeting, held in New York City by combined groups.

AT ANT'S BARBER SHOP, 87½ WELLS ST., YOU GET A GOOD HYGIENIC SHAVE. GIVE US A TRIAL.

Subscribe for The Liberator.

AN ANARCHIST ON ANARCHY.

(By Elisee Reclus.)

(Continued from last week.)

The first condition of equality, without which any other progress is merest mockery—the object of all socialists without exception—is that every man shall have bread. To talk of duty, of renunciation, of ethereal virtues to the famishing, is nothing less than cowardice. Dives has no right to preach morality to the beggar at his gates. If it were true that civilized lands did not produce food enough for all, it might be said that, by virtue of vital competition, bread should be reserved for the strong, and that the weak must content themselves with the crumbs that fall from the feasters' tables. In a family where love prevails things are not ordered in this way; on the contrary, the small and the ailing receive the fullest measure; yet it is evident that dearth may strengthen the hands of the violent and make the powerful monopolizers of bread. But are our modern societies really reduced to these straits? On the contrary, whatever may be the value of Malthus' forecast as to the distant future, it is an actual, incontestable fact that in the civilized countries of Europe and America the sum total of provisions produced, or received in exchange for manufactures, is more than enough for the sustenance of the people. Even in times of partial dearth the granaries and warehouses have but to open their doors that every one may have a sufficient share. Notwithstanding waste and pridigality, despite the enormous losses arising from moving about and "handling" in warehouses and shops, there is always enough to feed generously all the world. And yet there are some who die of hunger! And yet there are fathers who kill their children because when the little ones cry for bread they have none to give them.

Others may turn their eyes from these horrors; we socialists look them full in the face, and seek out their cause. That cause is the monopoly of the soil, the appropriation by a few of the land which belongs to all. We anarchists are not the only ones to say it: the cry for nationalization of the land is rising so high that all may hear it who do not wilfully close their ears. The idea spreads fast, for private property, in its present form, has had its day, and historians are everywhere testifying that the old Roman law is not synonomous with eternal justice. Without doubt it were vain to hope that holders of the soil, saturated, so to speak, with ideas of cast, of privilege and of inheritance, will voluntarily give back to all the bread-yielding furrows: the glory will not be theirs of joining as equals their fellow-citizens; but when public opinion is ripe—and day by day it grows—individuals will oppose in vain the general concourse of wills, and the axe will be applied to the upas tree's roots. Arable land will be held once more in common; but instead of being ploughed and sown almost at hazard by ignorant hands, as it has hitherto been, science will aid us in the choice of climate, of soils, of methods of culture, of fertilizers, and of machinery. Husbandry will be guided by the same prescience as mechanical combinations and chemical operations; but the fruits of his toil will not be lost to the laborer. Many so-called savage societies hold their land in common, and humble though in our eyes they may seem, they are our betters in this: want among them is unknown. Are we, then, too ambitious in desiring to attain a social state which shall add to the conquests of civilization the privileges of these primitive tribes? Through the education of our children we may to some extent fashion the future.

After we have bread for all, we shall require something more—equality of rights; but this point will soon be realized, for a man who needs not incline himself before his fellows to crave a pittance is already their equal. Equality of conditions, which is in no way incompatible with the infinite diversity of human character, we ardently desire and look upon as indispensable, for it offers us the only means whereby a true public morality can be developed. A man can be truly moral only when he is his own master. From the moment when he awakens to a comprehension of that which is equitable and good it is for him to direct his own movements, to seek in his conscience reasons for his actions, and to perform them simply without either fearing punishment or looking for reward. Nevertheless his will cannot fail to be strengthened when he sees other men, guided like himself by their own volition, following the same line of conduct. Mutual example will soon constitute a collective code of ethics to which all may conform without effort; but the moment that orders, enforced by legal penalties, replace the personal impulses of the conscience, there is an end to morality. Hence the saying of the apostle of the Gentiles, "the law makes sin." Even more, it is sin itself, because, instead of appealing to man's better part, to his bold initiative, it appeals to his worst—it rules by fear. It thus behooves every one to resist laws that he has not made, and to defend his personal rights, which are also the rights of others. People often speak of the antagonism between rights and duties. It is an empty phrase; there is no such antagonism. Whoso vindicates his own rights fulfills at the same time his duty towards his fellow-men. Privilege, not right, is the converse of duty.

Besides the possession of a man's own person, sound morality involves yet another condition—mutual good-will, which is likewise the outcome of equality. The time-honored words of Mahabarata are as true as ever: "The ignorant are not the friends of the wise; the man who has no cart is no friend of him who has a cart. Friendship is the daughter of equality; it is never born of inequality." Without doubt it is given to some men, great by their thoughts, by sympathy, or by strength of will, to win the multitude; but if the attachment of their followers and admirers comes otherwise than of an enthusiastic affinity of idea to idea, or of heart to heart, it is speedily transformed either into fanaticism or servility. He who is hailed lord by the acclamations of the crowd must almost of necessity attribute to himself exceptional virtues, or a "grace of God," that marks him in his own estimation as a predestined being, and he usurps without hesitation or remorse privileges which he transmits as a heritage to his children. But, while in rank exalted, he is morally degraded, and his partizans and sycophants are more degraded still; they wait for the words of command which fall from the master's lips; when they hear in the depths of their conscience some faint note of dissent, it is stifled; they become practiced liars, they stoop to flattery, and lose the power of looking honest men in the face. Between him who commands and him who obeys, and whose degradation deepens from generation to generation, there is no possibility of friendship. The virtues are transformed; brotherly frankness is destroyed; independence becomes a crime; above is either pitying condescension or hauty contempt, below either envious admiration or hidden hate. Let each of us recall the past and ask ourselves in all sincerity this question: "Who are the men in whose society we have experienced the most pleasure? Are they personages who have 'honored' us with their conversation, or the humble with whom we have 'deigned' to associate? Are they not rather our equals, those whose looks neither implore nor command, and whom we may love with open hearts without afterthought or reserve?

It is to live in condition of equality and escape from the falsehoods and hypocricies of a society of superiors and inferiors, that so many men and women have formed themselves into close corporations and little worlds apart. America abounds in communities of this sort. But these societies, few of which prosper while many perish, are all ruled more or less by force; they carry within themselves the seeds of their own dissolution, and are reabsorbed by nature's law of gravitation into the world which they have left. Yet even were they perfection, if man enjoyed in them the highest happiness of which his nature is capable, they would be none the less obnoxious to the charge of selfish isolation, of raising a wall between themselves and the rest of their race; their pleasures are egotistical, and devotion to the cause of humanity would draw back the best of them into the great struggle.

As for us Anarchists, never will we separate ourselves from the world to build a little church, hidden in some vast wilderness. Here is the fighting ground, and we remain in the ranks, ready to give our help wherever it may be most needed. We do not cherish premature hopes, but we know that our efforts will not be lost. Many of the ignorant, who either out of love of routine or simplicity of soul now anathematize us, will end by associating themselves with our cause. For every man whom circumstances permit to join us freely, hundreds are hindered by the hard necessities of life from openly avowing their opinions, but they listen from afar and cherish our words in the treasury of their hearts. We know that we are defending the cause of the poor, the disinherited, the suffering; we are seeking to restore to them the earth, personal rights, confidence in the future; and is it not natural that they should encourage us by look and gesture, even when they dare not come to us? In times of trouble, when the iron hand of might loosens its hold, and paralyzed rulers reel under the weight of their own power; when the "groups," freed for an instant from the pressure above, reform themselves according to their natural affinities, on which side will be the many? Though making no pretension to prophetic insight, may we not venture without temerity to say that the great multitude would join our ranks? Albeit they never weary of repeating that Anarchism is merely the dream of a few visionaries, do not even our enemies, by the insults they heap upon us and the projects and machinations they impute to us, make an incessant propaganda in our favor? It is said that when the magicians of the middle ages wanted to raise the devil, they began their incantations by painting his image on a wall. For a long time past modern exorcists have adopted a similar method for conjuring Anarchists.

Pending the great work of the coming time, and to the end that this work may be accomplished, it behooves us to utilize every opportunity for rede and deed. Meanwhile, although our object is to live without government and without law, we are obliged, in many things, to submit. On the other hand how often are we enabled to disregard their behests and act on our own free will? Ours be it to slip none of these occasions, and to accept tranquilly whatever personal consequences may result from doing that which we believe to be our duty. In no case will we strengthen authority by appeals or petitions, neither shall we sanction the law by demanding justice from the courts, nor by giving our votes and influence to any candidate whatsoever, become the authors of our own ill-fortune. It is also easy for us to accept nothing from power, to call no man "master," neither to be called "master" ourselves, to remain in the ranks as simple citizens and to maintain resolutely, and in every circumstance, our quality of equal among equals. Let our friends judge us by our deeds, and reject from among them those of us who falter.

There are unquestionably many kind-hearted men that, as yet, hold themselves aloof from us, and even view our efforts with a certain apprehension, who

(Continued on Page 4.)

IMPRACTICAL OPERATION OF UNIONISM SHOWN.

I was charged with the crime, namely, as a bookbinder by trade, I dared to organize cloakmakers, cigarmakers and men's tailors for the Industrial Workers of the World. I wish to say to my opponents, that, when I became the organizer for the I. W. W. after the convention was adjourned, I realized at least one fact, that is namely, that in order to organize tailors, I must be a tailor and I further realized the fact that as long as the workingmen are organized under the present system of trade unionism in craft lines, they will never succeed in bettering their conditions thereby, and now let me illustrate to you, for instance, the U. G. W. of A. as they are organized on craft lines at present under the A. F. L. Now the cutters have a union, the pressers have a union, vestmakers a union, the pantsmakers a union, and each union has business agents or a walking delegate. Now let me say that the cutter union is making an agreement with its employers, beginning May 1st, 1903, ending May 1st, 1905. Coatmakers union have an agreement with its employers beginning May 1st, 1904, ending May 1st, 1906, and so with the other unions. Now let me say that the cutters have a grievance with their employers when their term expires in 1905 and they go out on strike, what are the coatmakers doing? They are working with scab cutters, and if they are in sympathy with the cutters and they are willing to join the fight they cannot do it because they have a different agreement with their employers. Their term expires in 1906.

I could quote from every industry the same facts.

Now I will ask every student of labor questions to produce the picture of the last teamsters strike. There we see how the garment workers went out in November, 1904, and the teamsters went out in a sympathy strike in April, 1905. Now when the I. W. W. was organized June 27, 1905, I was delegate and I have studied this movement, and when the convention adjourned I pledged myself to work for it voluntarily, and I started to organize the workingmen. What was it that made me become the organizer for the I. W. W.? The reason was, that I realized the fact, that an injury to one is an injury to all, viz., when the cutters would have the co-operation of all the crafts connected with the garment workers they surely would succeed.

Now this is what I. W. W. is going to do, to organize the workingmen in one union based upon the class struggle and at the same time to educate the masses that they have nothing in common with their masters. An organization without walking delegates, without business agents, without parasites, without leaders. The I. W. W. proposes to educate the workingmen to become their own walking delegates and their own business agents. I hope that my opponents, who they may be it doesn't make a bit of difference, that they will realize that it is not necessary for anyone to be a tailor in order to organize the tailors and so with the other trades.

Jean Spielman.
Organizer I. W. W.

A FREEMAN'S LITANY.

From superstition's deadly grip
From fawning flattery's Judas lip,
Good Liberty deliver me.

From apathy's cold, chilling power,
From despondency's dark, dead'ning power,
Good Liberty deliver me.

From bribe of lips or pen or purse,
From ignoble thoughts my heart would nurse,
Good Liberty deliver me.

From authority's mean cunning, low,
A freeman's most treacherous, subtle foe,
Good Liberty deliver me.

From cringing fear or even worse,
A hardened bigot's boastful curse,
Good Liberty deliver me.

O, guide me with thy torch of truth,
That may ever stand for thee,
Nor bow to aught that knows thee not,
So help me Liberty.

—E. G. S., in Free Society.

Subscribe for The Liberator.

COMPENSATION

For Labor Performed in a Free Society.

Editor of Liberator:—

Kindly allow me space in your valuable paper to present my views on compensation under Communistic Anarchism. My communication may contain sufficient merit to provoke some discussion at least, and that is what we need to clarify matters.

Starting out in developing the value of things Marx speaks of imbibed laboring strength contained in them which constitute their real value. Not having as yet separated the different occupations of labor, he of necessity could take no other measurement than the time expended in producing an article, for taking labor in a bulk more vital force is expended in sixteen hours than in eight hours, and this the actual degree in which the working days vary. Following up the process of labor step by step he speaks of the quantity of labor (expressed in hours) it takes an individual to produce a certain article. But as some men are slow and others fast, or some are feeble while others are strong, and consequently need less time to produce a certain article than the feeble ones, the individual's time of labor cannot determine the price of anything, the reason why Marx concluded that the social working hours, i. e., the natural average time expended upon a product determined its value or price. In his further development Marx finely separates different trades, showing that men following one certain trade do not reach as high an age as others following other trades. This means that the first mentioned expend more vital force within a given time than others, i. e., work harder and die sooner. This is the concluding argument on labor by Marx, reducing labor to expended life force, and which is the only standard which justly can be adopted. Marx says he took the time measure of the individual, but he found out that that was no good. He threw it aside and adopted the social time measure; but studying the question down to its whole depth, he soon became again convinced that the social time measurement was also inadequate. Again he discarded it and adopted the vital-force measure, which is equal to measuring the value of things by the amount of expended life-force or human flesh it contains.

Now as to the labor notes.

I for one do not want any truck system of getting commodities for my labor. Nor do I want a system of barrack life, for such is furthest from anarchy. I want certificates for my performed labor, expressed in days, hours, etc., so that I can go to any commune warehouse and exchange day labor for day labor, or an hour's labor for an hour's labor, in whatever form my fancy may choose, and at whatever time I may see fit, the same as I do now with cash money. I do not want to be a slave to anything, or to any district commune's notion; I want to be as free as the birds in the air. Of course a certain percentage of labor must be given free to support those functionaries who do useful labor but produce nothing of an exchange value. Notwithstanding all lamentations and controversies, a deep study of this very question has forced me into the conclusion that a certificate of labor exchange must exist, should full liberty worth the name of anarchistic communism prevail. For my own part, I am also convinced that in order to insure and maintain justice, we must strictly adhere to the theory of value as outlined by Karl Marx, lest we will find ourselves on a down grade plane sliding into the popl of competitive heresies. Karl Marx's development from time measure to working force measure will enable us to issue labor certificates based on expended working force, but expressed in time, an advantage which cannot be too highly prized.

Could every man be supplied with a guage indicating at his heart every ounce or grain of vital force his body expends every minute or hour, like a steam boiler, the certificates could be made to express the expended vital force. But this system would require a registrator in every department of labor who registers every hour, the dials showing at every man's breast or forehead. This, I believe, is impracticable as yet, therefore we must content ourselves with a rudder system. Trades can be classified very easily. In fact there are among the manifold trades or occupations comparatively few which are extra severe on the vital system. Supposing now that the social working day will be four hours for all occupations requiring an average expenditure of working force, the working day for those occupations wherein a man exhausts about as much strength in one hour as are ranked among the former may be reduced to two hours; the working day certificate being always the same. In case of hour work, half an hour of the hard workers would constitute an hour's work for which an hour certificate is given. Now in many shops night work counts double, this is the same thing and very simple. Men engaged in chemical preparations, where strong poisons are inhaled, etc., and in consequence of it shortens life if longer engaged than one or two hours a day, the same rule should be observed. If a man can work only one hour a day fest his health is injured, that is indeed a man's days work. One prefers to have more free time and work the other time hard, while another would rather work longer and at a trade, the performance of which does not exhaust him. Thus the often heard objection that men would not dig sewers, or mine coal, etc., in a Communistic state of affairs would fall to the ground.

Wherein now lies the Communism may be asked, if every man gets paid for his labor? Well, the Communism lies in the common possession of all capital, and in equal shares of the labor performed commonly by a group of workers. The one being fast in the performance of his labor, the other being naturally slower; the one being strong, muscular, the other weak and delicate, these things being natural attributes, the weak or slow one cannot, in justice, be punished for being so by giving him less, nor can the strong and naturally fast one be rewarded for these attributes by giving him more. All such natural qualifications or disqualifications as they may be, must be fully equalized lest there is no communism. But every man in communism is free to exchange with his labor whatever commodity or luxury he may desire. So some men like to consume dainties, wines or paintings, while some like to consume free time. He can get every extra luxury for his labor certificates, but in case of exchanging his labor notes for free time he has the advantage of saving the labor of paying them out, he simply leaves them in the common warehouse where the group he belongs to deliver their products.

Concerning the fear of an army of clerks keeping account of the labor notes, I cannot see the reason for it at all. On the contrary, I see far more danger of such a contingency if the products should be given away without any receipt therefor. It only needs a group to undertake the issuance of such certificates, and the circulation is very simple, requiring no extra functionaries.

Before I close on this subject I will remark yet that I can see no possibility of industrial groups exchanging their products among themselves, for if a group of mechanics build machines, and if they exchange them for shoes, the so-exchanged machines would then be the property of the shoemakers' group that exchanged them. Besides, every member of the machinists group would, in case of no time note existing, have to take shoes, whether they wanted them or not. Would, in such a case, machines not become group property, and would it not beget group competition. Who will answer?

A. A.

LOVE DIES IN MOST CASES OF ITS OWN FIERCENESS

(By Helen Oldfield.)

Undoubtedly with most persons the power of loving is exhausted sooner or later; excepting when the love is mutual and there is magnetic influence between the two, who love an influence which continually renews the light in the seven branched candlesticks upon the altar of affection. Otherwise the cases in which love is permanent are so rare as to be well night anomalous.

Whether it be the grand passion which Jerome K. Jerome describes when he says: "We never sicken with love twice." A man's heart is a firework that once in its time flashes heavenward. Meteor-like it blazes for a moment, and lights with its glory the whole world beneath. Then the night of our sordid, commonplace life closes in around it, and the burnt out case, falling back to earth, lies useless and uncared for, slowly smoldering into ashes; whether it be a succession of little blazes which must be industriously fanned and fed to be kept alive, and which flicker and die out when left for a moment alone; most hearts of men and of women grow to be immune after a time.

Usually it is the fickle heart which retains the power of loving the longest; hearts which love, as it were, upon the installment plan; the object of devotion changes, but the fount of love is forever upon tap, ready to gush its little best when the power is applied.

It is greatly to be doubted whether any man or woman ever experiences more than one grand, absorbing passion in a lifetime. To the vast majority such a passion, which "gives and gives all," which is ready to count all loss gain, and that gladly, for the sake of the beloved, which knows no heaven without, no hell with, its object, never comes at all; which is well, since it is only when the love is mutual, and both lovers are worthy above the worth of common clay, that such love brings happiness. Once in a while such love meets its affinity, is given back measure for measure, meets no check, no disappointments; it loves and is loved even unto the grave, perhaps beyond, who knows? For, as love is the one thing which we bring into the world when we enter it, may it not be also that it is the one thing which we shall carry out?

It is an old, old saying that even as no two men eat exactly alike, so no two can be found who make love in precisely the same fashion. With all the exciting stories of "doubles," of cases of mistaken identity, there is always some essential difference to be noted between man and man, woman and woman, however closely they may resemble one another. No two human beings are exact duplicates in person, still less in character. One man goes mad for the sake of a woman, sacrificing soul and body, honor and fair fame, for his mess of red pottage; while another, perhaps his brother in blood, jogs his even way through life unmoved by the love of woman.

"The sweetest lips that ever were kissed,
The brightest eyes that ever shone
May pray and whisper and he not list
Or look away and never be missed."

There are learned men who hold that love is a disease, and the theory holds in some respects. Like the grip, the malady of love fastens upon the weakest spot and exhibits different symptoms with different patients. With some it is like unto measles or scarlet fever, one has it once, severely, and is thenceforth immune; with others it is like hay fever, of yearly recurrence. However, one cannot always tell; people have been known to experience a second attack of measles, while sufferers from hay fever sometimes escape the periodical visitation. In whatever light one views love, it is as queer as radium, and as potent, when it really takes hold.

Probably not one in 10,000 of the couples who marry madly, desperately in love with each other, are able to keep the pace. Neither would it be well with them if they could. There are few hearts big enough and strong enough to feed that fierce, devouring passion throughout a long lifetime. The part of wisdom is, ere the torch burns out, to use it as kindling for the cozy fire of affection upon the hearth of home; a fire which will continue to burn cheerily night and day, nor suffer the ashes of passion upon which it is built to grow cold and desolate. Affection is a fire which may be fed from day to day, and be heaped higher and brighter when storms rage without, and the winter is bleak and cold; a fire at which one may warm heart and body, and sit in peace and comfort as old age draws nigh; a fire whose magic glow, shining upon the dear home faces, brightens and beautifies them even unto the end of time.

As for those who experience what is technically known as a "disappointment in love," their stories are as different as are the people themselves. With many it is the vanity rather than the heart which is wounded, and, while such wounds are sharp, they are seldom enduring. With some there is a period of bitter chagrin, perhaps of keen regret, a few days or weeks when life is all out of gear, and jar and fret rule supreme, when the lees of the spilled wine poison one's cup of joy. Then, little by little, things go smoothly once more, and the disappointed lover finds himself in the attitude of the small boy, who, having stopped to smile in the midst of his tears, is at a loss to recall the cause of his weeping. With such men any woman whom they admire is the one woman in the world until another fair face smiles upon them, dimming the image of the old one. Every man thinks the only woman a paragon until he has been surfeited with too many only ones.

But there are others. With some love is a consuming flame which scorches and sears, so that henceforth neither leaf nor blossom shall be found upon the blighted tree, and since the blight fell when life was at its flushing no shoots may arise from the root to replace it.

Many men and most women make the mistake of expecting too much love. All things earthly demand periods of rest and quiet, and love is rarely an exception to the rule. Transports may be delicious, but they are usually exhausting. A musical instrument, kept at concert pitch, soon becomes out of tune, and excess of motion, although pleasurable, is deleterious to the nervous system. Moreover, as one grows older one is apt to lose enthusiasm, to take all things in a minor key. One grows blase and comes to regard the dreams of youth with contemptuous amusement.

Still, as already said, people differ. There be men and women under 30 years of age who have grown quiet and weary, with all their illusions flown; there are others of three score, perhaps nearing the "and ten,' who keep the "dew of their youth" in their hearts. Mature love may lack the undisciplined fervor of earlier days, but it will go deeper and last longer. Another respect in which love may be likened to measles is that the older the patient the more serious the disease is apt to be. Taken late in life it usually strikes in. Youth is prone to regard love as a joke and plaything; it is later on that, as Brigadier Gerard says, "one understands that it is the molder of one's life, the most solemn and sacred of all things."

Mr. Rockefeller thinks the churches ought to be organized upon lines similar to those of the Standard Oil Company. Well, the truth is that most people believe there is only one heaven.—Chicago Ledger.

Jane G. Austin: I've always noted that when one gets by hook or crook that which he oughtn't to have, the good of it is gone before he touches it, and it's worse to have it than to want it.

THE WONDERS OF SCIENCE

Under this head will be contained short sketches on scientific subjects. We wish to interest the young people in the families of Liberator's subscribers. The young are likely to tire of a paper which dwells too much upon the economic question only. Besides such short sketches may inspire the young people to exertions that may prove interesting to themselves and their parents.

MAGNETISM.

In all organic substances there are two genders—male and female; in all imponderable forces such as electricity and magnetism there are also two genders—positive and negative.

The only difference we can see between electricity and magnetism is that magnetism is a much more imponderable force—more attenuated—more subtle and with a much higher rate of vibration.

Our language is hardly adequate to give expression to either of these imponderable forces. We could not call them matter, neither can we properly designate them as fluid, but the rank and file of electrical workers such as telephone line men, street car motormen, etc., have coined a word which is at least expressive if not correct, and that is "juice."

They will say: "Jack, turn on the juice," or "Jim, turn off the juice," but as a matter of brass tacks we do not know how to term these mysterious forces. We do know, however, that the mainspring of their power lies in their rate of vibration, and that magnetism possesses a much higher rate of vibration than electricity, and that's not so very slow, because it would take electricity just about eight seconds to travel clear around this entire globe in one continuous circuit.

As magnetism is much more subtle, many have tried to convince us that it is akin to and can be controlled by mind, but their case has not been proven, as we at least can prove the negative, to-wit:

Place a small steel ball about the size of a pea on a hardwood table, and then surround this table by, we will say, twenty of the strongest-minded people you know, or the strongest-minded in the world, and by mind-force they could not make that little steel ball move one millionth part of an inch. But now take a common horse-shoe magnet, and place between it and the steel ball a piece of glass (the hardest and closest affiliated particle we know of, except diamonds) and see the ball respond to the magnetic attraction of the shoe, and follow it around wherever you direct the magnet.

Here we have no connected circuit between the steel and the magnet, as there should be in all electrical tests (a circuit of the positive and negative polarities), but on the contrary we have placed a barrier between the magnet and steel, yet they have found their affinity and make their own circuit through space—and a natural law.

This proves conclusively that whatever magnetism may be termed—fluid, "juice" or ether—mind must be still more subtle and of a much higher rate of vibration, as for instance: If it takes electricity eight seconds to encircle this globe, and it would take magnetism two seconds to do the same errand, thought is quicker still, for it does it instantly.

One strange and incomprehensible thing about electricity is, that if we "ground" a wire at the extreme end of a large city, where hundreds of other wires are also laid underground, that current will return to its positive affinity at the starting point in exactly the same voltage it left, notwithstanding the fact that it had to cross numerous other currents to do so, and had the ground only for a conductor.

As the vibratory rates of magnetism are greater than electricity, so in the same ratio are the vibrations of mind. We do not state this as a positive fact, but a comparative one only, and for this reason: Let two, three, four or five persons sit around a small table or other piece of magnetic conducting material and all place their hands palm downward on it, so that it becomes charged with their magnetism, and there will soon be felt an appreciable vibration in the table either in the form of oscillation, tipping, or the cracking of its joints. Now let some one endeavor to direct the movements of the table through mind force while it is thus charged by their personal magnetism and you will find it respond to the wishes of any one or of all surrounding it, whether their wishes be directly expressed, silent or sub-conscious, but if all contact with the table be broken no movement can be obtained, which proves, I think, the connecting link between mind and magnetism.

Electricity can act on electricity, as shown by the "grounded" wire circuit. Magnetism responds to magnetism as proven by the magnetic steel ball and a charged horse-shoe magnet, therefore by deductive reasoning and experiment we are forced to the conclusion that mind can act on mind only, and not on matter except a circuit be formed by magnetism between mind and matter.

The day will come of course, when science will have solved these problems and classified the various imponderable forces under their proper headings, and man will have been enabled to harness and use them to much better advantage than now, but until that time does come we should not be discouraged with the outlook, for it is but an outlook and the greatest and most learned scientists of the day know no more about the imponderable forces than the poor sky pilot who pounds the pulpit at so much per pound.

Rex.

Measuring Unseeable Lengths.

The 250th part of an inch is a millimeter. The 2,000,000th part of a millimeter is what Dr. P. E. Shaw of England is measuring. The unaided eye cannot perceive much less than one-tenth of a millimeter. With the help of a microscope the eye can see as little as 1-5,000 millimeter. The measuring medium used for engineering gauges will detect differences of 1-8,000 millimeter. By using interference bands of light we can perceive movements of 1-100,000 millimeter. In the optical lever a beam of light falls on a pivoted mirror; if a body push the mirror at a point near the axis of the pivot the beam is deflected by a large angle. By this means a movement of the body by 1-400,000 millimeter may be detected. The most modern and sensitive method is by the electric micrometer. Dr. Shaw's invention was first produced in 1900 and has now been improved so that it can measure less than 1-2,000,000. It is not controlled by the hand, but worked with a pulley cord of rubber, which passes from a band around a pulley to the screw. This is done to avoid the comparatively rough touch and the tremor of the hand. Many precautions regarding size, shape, cleanliness must be observed to insure its operation.

John A. Howland.

I am not discouraged. Things will right themselves. The pendulum swings one way and then another. But the steady pull of gravitation is towards the center of the earth. Any structure must be plumb if it is to endure, or the building will fall. So it is with nations. Wrong may seem to triumph. Right may seem to be defeated. But the gravitation of eternal justice is toward the Throne of God. Any poltical institution which is to endure must be plumb with that line of justice.—Altgeld.

AN ANARCHIST ON ANARCHY.

(Continued from Page 3.)

would nevertheless gladly lend us their help were they not repelled by fear of the violence which almost invariably accompanies revolution. And yet a close study of the present state of things would show them that the supposed period of tranquility in which we live is really an age of cruelty and violence. Not to speak of war and its crimes, from the guilt of which no civilized state is free, can it be denied that chief among the consequences of the existing social system are murder, maladies and death? Accustomed order is maintained by rude deeds and brute force, yet things that happen every day and every hour pass unperceived; we see in them a series of ordinary events no more phenomenal than times and seasons. It seems no less than impious to rebel against the cycle of violence and repression which comes to us hallowed by the sanction of ages. Far from desiring to replace an era of happiness and peace by an age of disorder and warfare, our sole aim is to put an end to the endless series of calamities which has hitherto been called, by common consent, "The progress of civilization." On the other hand, vengeances are the inevitable incidents of a period of violent changes. It is in the nature of things that they should be. Albeit deeds of violence, prompted by a spirit of hatred, bespeak a feeble moral development, these deeds become fatal and necessary whenever the relations between man and man are not the relations of perfect equity. The original form of justice, as understood by primitive peoples, was that of retaliation, and by thousands of rude tribes this system is still observed. Nothing seemed more just than to offset one wrong by a like wrong. Eye for eye! Tooth for tooth! If the blood of one man has been shed, another must die! This was the barbarous form of justice. In our civilized societies it is forbidden to individuals to take the law into their own hands. Governments, in their quality of social delegates, are charged, on behalf of the community, with the enforcement of justice, a sort of retaliation somewhat more enlightened than that of the savage. It is on this condition that the individual renounces the right of personal vengeance; but if he be deceived by the mandatories to whom he entrusts the vindication of his rights, if he perceives that his agents betray his cause and league themselves with his oppressors, that official justice aggravates his wrongs; in a word, if whole classes and populations are unfairly used, and have no hope of finding, in the society to which they belong, a redresser of abuses, is it not certain that they will assume their inherent right of vengeance and execute it without pity? Is not this indeed an ordinance of nature, a consequence of the physical law of shock and counter-shock? It were unphilosophic to be surprised by its existence. Oppression has always been answered by violence.

Nevertheless, if great human evolutions are always followed by sad outbreaks of personal hatreds, it is not to these bad passions that well-wishers of their kind appeal when they wish to arouse the motive virtues of enthusiasm, devotion and generosity. If changes had no other result than to punish oppressors, to make them suffer in their turn, to repay evil with evil, the transformation would be only in seeming. What boots it to him who truly loves humanity and desires the happiness of all, that the slave becomes master, that the master is reduced to servitude, that the whip changes hands, and that money passes from one pocket to another? It is not the rich and the powerful whom we devote to destruction, but the institutions which have favored the birth and growth of these malevolent beings. It is the medium which it behooves us to alter, and for this great work we must reserve all our strength; to waste it in personal vindications were merest puerility. "Vengeance is the pleasure of the gods," said the ancients; but it is not the pleasure of self-respecting mortals; for they know that to become their own avengers would be to lower themselves to the level of their former oppressors. If we would rise superior to our adversary, we must, after vanquishing him, make him bless his defeat. The revolutionary device, "For our liberty and for yours," must not be an empty word.

The people in all times have felt this; and after every temporary triumph the generosity of the victor has obliterated the menaces of the past. It is a constant fact that in all serious popular movements, made for an idea, hope of a better time, and above all, the sense of a new dignity, fills the soul with high and magnanimous sentiments. So soon as the police, both political and civil, cease their functions and the masses become masters of the streets, the moral atmosphere changes, each feels himself responsible for the prosperity and contentment of all; molestation of individuals is almost unheard of; even professional criminals pause in their sad career, for they too feel that something great is passing through the air. Ah! if revolutionaries, instead of obeying a vague idea, as they have almost always done, had formed a definite aim, a well-considered scheme of social conduct, if they had firmly willed the establishment of a new order of things, in which every citizen might be assured bread, work, instruction, and the free development of his being, there would have been no danger in opening all prison gates to their full width and saying to the unfortunates whom they shut in, "Go, brothers, and sin no more."

It is always to the nobler part of man that we should address ourselves when we want to do great deeds. A general fighting for a bad cause stimulates his soldiers with promises of booty, a benevolent man who cherishes a noble object encourages his companions by the example of his own devotion and self-sacrifice. For him faith in his idea is enough. As says the proverb of the Danish peasant: "His will is his paradise." What matters it that he is treated as a visionary. Even though his understanding were only a chimera, he knows nothing more beautiful and sweet than the desire to act rightly and do good; in comparison with this, vulgar realities are for him but shadows, the apparitions of an instant.

But our ideal is not a chimera. This, public opinion well knows; for no question more preoccupies it than that of social transformation. Events are casting their shadows before. Among men who think is there one who in some fashion or another is not a socialist—that is to say, who has not his own little scheme for changes in economical relations? Even the orator who noisily denies that there is a social question affirms the contrary by a thousand propositions. And those who would lead us back to the middle ages, are they not also socialists? They think they have found in the past, restored after modern ideas, conditions of social justice which will establish forever the brotherhood of man. All are awaiting the birth of a new order of things; all ask themselves, some with misgiving, others with hope, what the morrow will bring forth. It will not come with empty hands. The century which has witnessed so many grand discoveries in the world of science cannot pass away without giving us still greater conquests. Industrial appliances, that by a single electric impulse make the same thought vibrate through five continents, have distanced by far our social morals, which are yet in many regards the outcome of reciprocally hostile interests. The axis is displaced; the world must crack that its equilibrium may be restored. In spirit revolution is ready; it is already thought—it is already willed; it only remains to realize it, and this is not the most difficult part of the work. The governments of Europe will soon have reached the limits to the expansion of their power and find themselves face to face with their increasing populations. The superabundant activity which wastes itself in distant wars must then find employment at home—unless in their folly the shepherds of the people should try to exhaust their energies by setting Europeans against Europeans, as they have so often done before. It is true that in this way they may retard the solution of the social problem, but it will arise again after each postponement, more formidable than before.

Let economists and rulers invent political constitutions or salaried organizations, whereby the workman may be made the friend of his master, the subject the brother of his potentate, we "frightful anarchists" as we are, know only one way of establishing peace and good-will among men—the suppression of privilege and the recognition of right. Our ideal, as we have said, is that of the fraternal equity for which all yearn, but almost always as a dream; with us it takes form and becomes a concrete reality. It pleases us not to live if the enjoyments of life are to be for us alone; we protest against our good fortune if we may not share it with others; it is sweeter for us to wander with the wretched and the outcast than to sit crowned with roses, at the banquets of the rich. We are weary of these inequalities which make us the enemies of each other; we would put an end to the furies which are ever bringing men into hostile collision, and all of which arise from the bondage of the weak to the strong under the form of slavery, serfage and service. After so much hatred we long to love each other, and for this reason are we enemies of private property and despisers of the law.

SUICIDE IN CLEVELAND.

Mayor Tom Johnson of Cleveland, O., is alarmed at the growth of suicide in Cleveland, and what is true of Cleveland is equally true of all other centers of population in our so-called civilization. The mayor is going about it in a unique way to prevent the "evil". he is going to establish a kind of confessional in the police department, where sorrow-laden poor people can come and pour their troubles into the attentive ears of our kind-hearted "cops." If the poor devils were silly enough to act upon such advice, what a rich field it would be for the detectives! Why, they would have little else to do but lie around the saloons and soak whiskey most of the time, and then go to the "suicide confessional" and tap it for "tips." We imagine the Roman Catholic Church would enter a serious objection to this police competition in its field of activity which has always proven a source of rich "findings."

But, seriously, is Mayor Johnson earnestly seeking a remedy or a cure for the evil?

Do the rich or well-to-do classes commit suicide as a rule? A few do, it is true, but 99 per cent of all suicides, it is safe to say, are from the poor classes; the cure lies in removing the cause, which is poverty.

Mr. Cooley of Cleveland thus gives the causes of suicide:

"Hard drinking, lack of work, sickness, domestic trouble lead men to suicide. Suicide, domestic trouble, lives of shame drive women to suicide. The records show that the latter cause is the more frequent in the case of women."

Many men become hard drinkers for the temporary buoyancy whiskey gives. The woman who falls and who kills herself to rid her life of its shame is usually not at fault for the life she leads.

Poor wages, poor surroundings and the uncertainty of work are among the things that start her on a career that ends in the morgue.

Certainty of employment at decent wages creates and nourishes hopefulness in men and women.

In some scheme of society there should be work for all who are able and willing to work. And this certainty should exist until the worker has earned enough to keep him in his old age.

Time was that a man having a position held it during good behavior.

Now a new machine may make the trades of thousands worthless.

A new carrier may do away with cash boys and girls and messengers.

A new machine may enable an employer to do his work with half the number of clerks.

Conditions in work, in commerce and in manufacturing were never so changing as now.

And added to this is the brutal practicality of big corporations and big trusts who eliminate from their payrolls men older than forty years.

In the money madness that is on us many, without business genius to fight a fair fight for a competency, make it sure by the savage method of taking it out of the flesh and blood of their workers.

Children are paid children's wages for doing men's and women's work, and men and women are set adrift.

You will find this in cotton mills and you will find it in sweat shops. L. E. P.

Wherever the Bible is believed and obeyed there is a love for God and man, there are deep yearnings for purity of heart and maturity of life and character, there is a sincere hungering and thirsting after righteousness, there is growth in all the graces that are recommended by the book, there is hatred of sin and a strenuous effort to escape from its thralldom. Rev. T. H. Swift.

This is the kind of twaddle that is dished up to believers in the Bible at so much per "twad." There is no incentive for the preachers to waste their time delving into history for facts when such rot as the above will be accepted and paid for. History proves indisputably that belief in the teachings of the Bible has been responsible for more crime, more cold blooded murders, the spilling of more innocent blood than any other agency known to the world. "A little learning is a dangerous thing."

Freedom is closely connected with economic conditions. A man is not free who is dependent upon another for a job, for a chance to make a livelihood. Under the present economic system, with its unbridled competition, only the successful are free. Only the successful can throw off the shackles of industrial slavery and with this liberty they often become libertines. Ex.

Differences of religious opinion has caused more misery and bloodshed than any other one agency since the beginning of time. Close friends have become enemies, murders have been committed, and whole nations have warred, and the cause has been difference of sect. Occasional One.

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